incentive issues that can hinder efficient joint production. We now turn to an explanation of how joint ownership helps resolve some of these issues.

C. Joint Ownership as an Alternative to Joint Ventures

The previous subsection identified three problems confronted by a joint venture: (1) the costs of reaching agreement; (2) incentives to withhold private information; and (3) incentives to take actions that are not in the best interests of the joint venture. Joint ownership has the potential to mitigate each of these problems.

Joint ownership reduces or eliminates many of the costs of reaching agreement on a common course of action. The very nature of a firm is that of a hierarchical organization in which decisionmaking and authority are delegated to specific individuals. Importantly, senior management can direct the staffs of the newspaper and the television station to cooperate in ways that benefit the entire company, even if each would prefer to take actions that benefit only its own operation. In effect, agreement on the scope of joint production is reached cheaply because management can make it happen. Dispute resolution is also quite naturally handled by the structure of authority that is already in place.³⁵

The problem of withholding private information is also likely to be reduced within the firm because it is easier for key decisionmakers to obtain the

³⁵ We do not mean to imply that firms do not face some of the same bargaining issues internally that partners to a joint venture confront. Our point is that a firm has governance structures already in place to deal with many of the issues that joint venture participants must specify in a complex contract.

information they need.³⁶ Some private information disappears because decisionmakers can observe more carefully and more frequently the success of each division. For example, the financial statements of the each division are informative about which strategies have and have not been successful.

More fundamentally, senior management is free to monitor the activities of each division. It would be unusual for two separate companies, especially ones that compete, to be willing to allow such unrestricted access to their operations because they would be concerned that sharing sensitive business information with each other could give their rivals an advantage.

The third difficulty confronted by a joint venture -- aligning the incentives of the participants with those of the overall venture -- may also be attenuated when the venturers comprise a single firm. A key reason that the incentives of joint venture participants are not perfectly aligned is that it is prohibitively costly to specify in the joint venture contract all the actions that each participant will take. This leaves room for opportunism, which makes the venture less efficient than it would be if all actions were contractible. Within a firm, by contrast, it may be easier for a central authority to monitor the actions performed in different divisions in developing the joint product.³⁷

³⁶ It is also possible that the incentives for participants to reveal private information are greater in a firm than in a joint venture. This would be true, for example, if the party with the information believes that he or she is more likely than joint venture participants to be compensated for revealing information that benefits the firm.

³⁷ Of course, a firm confronts its own issues in attempting to encourage employees to take actions that are in the best interests of the company. For example, a fixed salary with no bonus tied to the performance of the firm may provide little incentive for an employee to undertake effort that cannot be monitored by the owners of the firm. On the other hand, giving the ownership a greater share of any increase in profits (after fixed salaries are paid) provides the ownership with an incentive to work harder, both in making its own productive decisions and in monitoring employees. A useful discussion of these tradeoffs can be found in B. Holmstrom and J. Tirole,

A final set of advantages a firm has over a joint venture flows from the relationships that can develop between employees and their peers and between employees and the firm. Peer groups can yield what Oliver Williamson calls "associational gains." The idea is that some individuals perform better when they are members of a group because they feel a responsibility to behave as "team players" working on behalf of that group. To the extent such groups are easier to form within a firm than within a joint venture, all three of the problems we have identified -- disagreement, private information, and shirking -- may be reduced.

Williamson also notes that a firm, as part of its internal incentive system, will often promote employees from within rather than hire from the outside to fill more senior positions.³⁹ It is likely to be easier for a firm than for a joint venture to use internal promotion as an incentive device for two reasons. First, firms tend to have longer histories during which more precise understandings develop between employees and management over the requirements for promotion.

Second, there is more scope for disagreement within a joint venture about when promotions should occur, who should be promoted, and where salaries should be pegged.

"The Theory of the Firm," in R. Schmalensee and R. Willig, eds., *Handbook of Industrial Organization, Volume 1*, North Holland, New York, pp. 65-78.

³⁹ Ibid, p. 77.

³⁸ See Oliver Williamson, *Markets and Hierarchies: Analysis and Antitrust Implications*, The Free Press, New York, 1975, p. 44.

V. Conclusion

Determining the relative merits of carrying out joint production within a firm or through a joint venture, and thus the optimal degree of joint ownership, is a complicated question that cannot be answered in the abstract. It is clear, however, from the trend toward increased cooperation between newspapers and television stations that their owners perceive significant benefits from coordinating operations in the provision of new media. Unfortunately, this experience does not provide a basis for determining the optimal degree of crossownership because entities that were not jointly owned when the crossownership rules were established must employ the joint venture approach.

It is clear, nonetheless, that given the potential for significant benefits from joint production, a blanket prohibition against cross-ownership between newspapers and television stations is not warranted. The appropriate treatment must balance the potential efficiencies from cross-ownership against the potential for anticompetitive effects. Such a comparison should be done, in our view, on a case-by-case basis, accounting for factors specific to the market in which the newspaper and television station compete. We believe that the efficiency benefits of such combinations are likely to dominate in many of the larger markets, where competitive concerns are likely to be small.

Newspaper (Owner)	Cable / Broadcast TV Station (Owner)	Web Site (Owner)	Start Date and Location	Type of Venture	Scope of Venture
Atlanta Journal and Constitution (Cox Enterprises Inc.)				Joint	"One newspaper company involved in the local cable news business is Cox Enterprises Inc., an Atlanta-based chain (which is private and separate from Cox Communications) of 21 daily newspapers. The chain hopes to launch a cable news project in all 21 of its markets. Last week, it launched a joint venture in Atlanta with Prime Cable for a nightly half-hour at 10 p.m. [The Newspaper Channel], which is immediately repeated. Cox, which owns the Atlanta Journal and Constitution, has constructed a 'full-scale TV studio' on one of the floors of its newsroom where the cable program is produced. According to Frank Heflin, the papers' director of telecommunications, the concept behind Cox's cable news projects is to 'use the resources of the newspaper and select a few stories each day which can be enhanced by video.'" "
Boston Globe	New England Cable News Channel (Hearst Corp. / Continental Cablevision) ²				Boston Globe reporters make short appearances on New England Cable News, a regional 24-hour cable joint venture by Hearst and Continental Cable.
Boston Herald	WCVB-TV	Boston Herald	1997 Boston, MA	Joint	Offer combined classified ads, but no combined news coverage on, the Herald's Web site. 4

Chicago Tribune (Tribune Co.)	ChicagoLand Television News [CLTV], 24-hour cable news channel (Tribune Co.) WGN (Tribune Co.)	1993 Chicago, IL	Owned	"Certain content and services of newspapers are quite adaptable to electronic products. Financial and TV program listings, event schedules and reviews are examples of content we've adapted to interactive forms." Tribune's cable channel, CLTV News, utilizes the resources of all of Tribune's Chicago-based companies. CLTV uses "the Chicago Tribune's newspaper reporters and facilities, as well as personnel and technology from Tribune's WHN television and radio stations." "[O]ne way ChicagoLand hopes to keep costs down will be through combining the newsgathering resources of the Tribune-owned Chicago Tribune and its eight suburban bureaus
				the newspaper and the network will work side by side in one newsroom that will also serve as a studio for the channel." ² "The newspaper connection is one of a number of synergies ChicagoLand will have with other Tribune-owned properties. The cable channel will provide simulcast and delayed telecasts of noon news broadcasts by WGN-TV, Tribune's Chicago television station. The company's Chicago radio station, WGN-AM, will provide up-to-the-minute traffic reports and live coverage from neighborhood festivals and events. There are even plans for ChicagoLand to link with Tribune's

Chicago Tribune	ChicagoLand Television	1993 Chicago II	Owned	Chicago Cubs baseball team broadcasting live many of the games blacked out by Major League
(Tribune Co.)	News [CLTV], 24-hour cable news channel	Chicago, IL		Baseball and providing late-night repeats of all weekday afternoon Cubs games." ²
	(Tribune Co.)			weekday alternoon odba games.
	WGN (Tribune Co.)			"ChicagoLand Television employs editors and reporters from the Chicago Tribune to offer data and insight to the regional news channel."
				"Bob Gremillion, general manager of ChicagoLand Television News, Tribune's existing cable news channel, has been given the task of exploring ways that Tribune can leverage its newspapers in order to create opportunities in television. For example, The Chicago Tribune and CLTV work closely together in Chicago. 'Because CLTV opened up this wide range of relationships, [Tribune] asked me to look at their other newspapers to figure out how they can get into television,' Gremillion said."
				The Tribune, with its huge editorial staff, helps the channel [CLTV] in terms of newsgathering. And on the business side, the Chicago Tribune has been able to cross-promote and create multimedia joint ad packages for its various holdings, including CLTV, The Tribune, WGN-TV and WGN radio."

Chicago Tribune (Tribune Co.)	ChicagoLand Television News [CLTV], 24-hour cable news channel (Tribune Co.) WGN (Tribune Co.)		1993 Chicago, IL	Owned	ChicagoLand TV "usually sells against other local media, including Tribune-owned properties. But CLTV, as it's known, will sometimes team up with the Chicago Tribune, the paper's Web site, WGN television and radio and the Chicago Cubs to pitch large advertisers on Tribune Company Network, a megacombined buy." ³
					According to Robert Carr, spokesperson for Tribune, there are "content and potential synergies in electronic delivery. Tribune already leverages its newspaper assets at its CLTV news programming venture serving ChicagoLand, as well as in its new media and online efforts." 8
Chicago Tribune (Tribune Co.)		Chicago Tribune web site (Tribune Co.)	1996 Chicago, IL	Owned	According to Owen Youngman, director of interactive media for the Tribune, "We are aggressively sharing resources not only with the newspaper, but with other Tribune business units on both the print and broadcast sides. We are as lean as we can be while still creating original content for the Web."
					The Chicago Tribune hired only 15 people to work on its Web site. 9

Evening Sun	Cable Channel 7	Hanover, PA	The Evening Sun of Hanover, Pennsylvania "sells
	(Hanover Cable)		advertising for Cable Channel 7, a 15-minute
			newscast that appears hourly on Hanover Cable,
			one of the paper's partners. News is provided by
			the local radio station, the cable company's
			corporate sibling – and the paper's strongest
			competitor in the market." 3
			The Evening Sun began its relationship with
			Hanover Cable by publishing a TV guide. ³
			According to Edward Moss, publisher of the
			Evening Sun, "Companies that you used to
			compete with are now going to be your
			partners. [This] is all about developing
			partnerships that are mutually beneficial." 3

Gwinnett Daily Post	Northeast Gwinnett Cablevision	1997 Gwinnett, GA	Northeast Gwinnett Cablevision provides a free subscription to the Gwinnett Daily Post to each of its subscribers. The Gwinnett Daily Post is launching a local news and information channel on Cablevision's system. All start-up and ongoing expenses are borne by The Daily Post. The Daily Post will also provide print advertising space for Cablevision. 10
			"Joint marketing efforts between cable operators and daily newspapers are not uncommon, but the scope of this partnership may be unprecedented. The cable company's customers receive free newspaper subscriptions for the next five years — the length of the initial agreement between Cablevision and the Daily Post — as well as fresh, new programming." 10
			"[F]are on the local channel will include news — with regular contributions from the print staff — along with such revenue producers as infomercials. The Daily Post will hardly be a novice in production, as its parent company operates broadcast television stations in seven markets. While Cablevision will share in any profits from the channel, those won't roll in until the newspaper's expenses have been repaid." 10

Lawrence Eagle Tribune,	WNEV-TV		1983	Joint	In 1983, Boston's WNEV-TV designed The New
Patriot Ledger,	(New England Television		Massachusetts		England News Exchange to extend broadcast
Middlesex News,	Corp.)		Hartford, CT		news coverage into the areas surrounding Boston.
Worcester Telegram,	WFSB-TV		Providence, RI	}	The New England News Exchange "provides a
Evening Gazette	(Post-Newsweek Corp.) WLNE-TV (Freedom Newspapers Inc.)				forum for the exchange of news and information among its members. The news association includes WNEV-TV, WFSB-TV and WLNE-TV and five regional newspapers in Massachusetts – The Lawrence Eagle Tribune, The Patriot Ledger, The Middlesex News, The Worcester Telegram, and The Evening Gazette. 11
Lexington Herald - Leader	WKYT-TV	Web site - Kentucky	1997	Joint	The Herald-Leader and WKYT-TV have a cross-
25/9:2 13:3		Connect ⁴	Lexington, KY		media partnership where "they share news resources and each promote the web site." 12
Miami Herald	Unspecified local TV station		1997	Joint	The Miami Herald has an affiliation with a local TV
			Miami, FL		station. 4

Miami Herald	WTVJ	1996	"The Miami Herald (FL) ad the NBC-
(Knight-Ridder)	(NBC)	Miami, FL	owned/operated WTVJ Channel 6 station (FL) have announced the creation of a partnership for promotion and resource-sharing purposes. Miami Herald Publisher David Lawrence said each firm would continue to manage its own news product. He said the tieup aims to offer more complete news to viewers and readers by capitalizing on the immediacy of TV, which newspapers did not have, and the depth reporting, context and detail, which TV did not have. It would allow both firms to reach previously inaccessible people." ¹⁷ "The firms will initially engage in cross-promotional activities. Beginning March 23, 1996, NBC6 evening news anchors will promote top stories running in the following day's Miami Herald, while the Herald will include a daily list of top NBC6 news features. By early Apr. 1996, an NBC6 remote TV camera will be placed in the Miami Herald newsroom to allow Miami Herald reporters to appear on NBC6 newscasts. Other activities include expense-sharing on major news stories, conducting joint surveys, and creating an online news product in both English and Spanish."
New York Times	New York 1 News		"The New York Times does a late-night news
TYOW FOR FRIES	(Time Warner Inc.)		show on Time Warner Inc.'s New York 1 News."

News & Observer	WRAL-TV	ncstormtrack.com	1997 Raleigh, NC		"As the World Wide Web becomes more television-like, online newspapers will be forced to adapt TV technologies and consider new sorts of alliances with local TV stations, according to a new study [Interactive News: State of the Art] by the Radio and Television News Directors Foundation." 12 "Nora Paul, a research expert and faculty member at the Poynter Institute for Media Studies, said broadcast outlets and newspapers can benefit from collaboration and sharing resources." 12
					"[T]he News & Observer in Raleigh, NC, and CBS-affiliate WRAL-TV teamed up to create ncstormtrack.com, a Web site for weather buffs. It includes stories and a large database of hurricane information from the newspaper along with video, audio and animation of hurricanes from the television station." 12
Orange County Register (Freedom Communications)	Orange County Newschannel		Orange County, CA		The Orange County Newschannel, a 24-hour cable channel, "which despite new corporate parents, still uses reporters from the Orange County Register to complement its own newsroom."
Orlando Sentinel (Tribune Co.)	WFTN (Cox Enterprises)		1995 Orlando, FL	Joint	The Orlando Sentinel "has a news-sharing arrangement with Cox Enterprises' WFTN-9 and will provide news for Time-Warner's cable systems." ¹⁴ "I addition to supplying 20 minutes of news each day to Time Warner's 'full service network,' – that company's much publicized test of interactive cable – Sentinel reporters work on election coverage and daily features with journalists at WFTN, the Cox-owned ABC affiliate in Orlando." ³

Orlando Sentinel	Central Florida News,	1997	Joint	In 1997, Time Warner and The Orlando Sentinel
(Tribune Co.)	24-hour local news cable	Central Florida		newspaper jointly launched Central Florida News
	channel			13, a 24-hour local news cable channel. "The
	(Time Warner and The			Sentinel and CF13 will remain separate news-
	Orlando Sentinel)	1		gathering entities, but they will share resources
		i		and story leads." CF13's staff of anchors, video
				journalists and on-camera crew will handle most
				of the reporting chores, but will use Sentinel
				reporters and resources to produce news reports.
				"Sentinel columnists and critics are being
		į		groomed to become regular contributors, while the
				rank-and-file editorial staff's appearances will
				depend on each reporter's TV skills." 15
				CF13 is located across the street from The
				Sentinel, however there will be a new 'multimedia
				desk' in the Sentinel's newsroom. "This desk will
				coordinate with the news editor at the paper and
				the assignment desk at the channel and will also
				be involved with the Sentinel's online news
				operation." 15
				CF13 "will employ 65 to 70 new news personnel.
				But it will also simultaneously attempt to harness
				the reputation and resources of the Sentinel's
				350-person editorial staff to report news while
				promoting the Tribune paper to those who do not
				read it." 16
				According to John Haile, editor-in-chief of the
				Orlando Sentinel, "We're going to try to eliminate
			!	duplication of resources – two reporters, one print,
				one broadcast, covering the same story. We're
				undergoing a change in what the company is -
				from a newspaper company to a multi-media

Orlando Sentinel (Tribune Co.)	Central Florida News, 24-hour local news cable	1997 J Central Florida	Joint	Corporation with internet, TV and newspapers." 16
(Tibulio 00.)	channel (Time Warner and The Orlando Sentinel)			CF13 is also "a vehicle that drives people to the newspaper, and readers to the news channel," said Haile. ¹⁶
Philadelphia Inquirer (Knight-Ridder)	Unspecified UHF station (Tribune Co.)	1994 Philadelphia, PA		"Inquirer News Tonight shares revenue with a local Tribune-owned UHF station and sells advertising with it." ³
				The Philadelphia Inquirer formed KR Video, a company that produces a daily one-hour news program. "KR Video buys air time directly from a local Philadelphia television station and sells its own advertising for the show." ¹⁷
Pottsville Republican	Unspecified local TV station	Pottsville, PA		The Pottsville Republican "trades promotion in its paper and its audiotex service for a daily weather report from a local TV station."
Salt Lake Tribune (TCI)		1998		"After announcing the Kearns-Tribune acquisition, TCI said it might use at least some of the newspaper assets [Salt Lake Tribune] to experiment with electronic publishing and 'other possible business relationships between cable and newspaper.' " 18
				TCI "will use ownership of the paper [Salt Lake Tribune], which it must hold onto for five years, as a springboard into electronic publishing and a means to develop cable and newspaper synergies. The deal marks the first cable-operator foray into the newspaper business, although Media General, Washington Post and Gannett have crossed industry boundaries going the other way." ¹⁹

San Francisco Chronicle	KRON-TV	Gate	Jan-97	Owned	The San Francisco Chronicle, KRON-TV and the
San Francisco Examiner (Chronicle Publishing Co.)	(Chronicle Publishing Co.)	(Chronicle Publishing Co. owns a controlling interest) 17	San Francisco, CA		Gate "share content and cross-market across their print, Web and broadcast operations." ⁴ KRON is merging its web site into The Gate, the Web site from the San Francisco Chronicle and Examiner. The Gate will be getting increased promotion from both KRON and BayTV, the Chronicle's 24-hour news and information cable channel. ²⁰
San Francisco Examiner (Hearst Corp.)	KTVU-TV			Joint	KRON's six online staffers will increase The Gate's staff to 22. They will work at the TV station. ²⁰ Editorial partnership for working on joint investigative projects. ²¹

San Jose Mercury News	KPIX-TV (CBS Inc.)	Mercury Center	San Francisco,	Joint	KPIX is used to preview the headlines of the next
(Knight Ridder)		(Knight Ridder)	CA		day's newspapers. 4
5 dailies (Contra Costa Newspapers)		Hot CoCo (Contra Costa Newspapers)			KPIX enhances newspaper's online news sites by incorporating audio and video clips of news, sports and weather coverage. 4
					Partnership enables KPIX to expand its coverage and enrich its newscasts with information from the newspapers and their web sites. 4
					According to Daniel Webster, news director of KPIX, "while broadcast television can launch a dialogue about a specific issue, newspapers are able to provide deeper coverage."
					Newspaper staffers offer expert analysis in occasional newscast appearances. 4
					The deal is "a combination of resources designed to enhance all of the media, including the online offerings." Even though KPIX and the newspaper will trade advertising and consider each other to be preferred partners for marketing events, the deal is strictly content-driven. According to Jerry Eaton, vice president and general manager of KPIX, "there really aren't revenue aspects to this deal." ⁴
Sarasota Herald Tribune (New York Times Co.)	Sarasota News Now (Sarasota Herald Tribune and Comcast Cable)		1995 Sarasota, FL	Joint	Sarasota News Now (SNN), a 24-hour news channel, was started by the Sarasota Herald Tribune, in conjunction with Comcast Cable. 22
					SNN's "staff of 30 is integrated into the newsroom of the Herald-Tribune, with the same editors assigning print and broadcast journalists to their stories. Some print journalists will even read news on camera." 14

WPLG-TV	1995	Joint	In 1995, WPLG relocated its Broward County
(Washington Post Co.)	South Florida		news bureau to the headquarters of the Sun- Sentinel. ²³
			As of 1996, local news stories from the Sun- Sentinel are included five nights a week in WPLG's late newscast, with appearances by the newspaper's journalists. WPLG's three-day weather outlook appears daily in the Sun- Sentinel. ²³
			WPLG and the Sun-Sentinel share newsroom resources. ²³
			According to Earl Maucker, Editor of the Sun-Sentinel, "This news-sharing alliance is not only significant, it is also exciting because it gives WPLG and the Sun-Sentinel a opportunity to provide an unmatched level of coverage for our viewers and readers." ²³
			The Sun-Sentinel and WPLG work closely together on special projects and jointly sponsor polls of South Florida residents. ²³
	WPLG-TV (Washington Post Co.)	1 20	1 = 0

Sun-Sentinel (Tribune Co.)	WPLG-TV (Washington Post Co.) South Florida Newschannel (Joint Venture of The Sun- Sentinel and WPLG)	1997	Joint	In 1995, the Sun-Sentinel and WPLG announced their plans to launch a 24-hour cable news and information channel called South Florida Newschannel in 1997. 23 The South Florida Newschannel will be patterned after the Tribune's ChicagoLand Television. The South Florida Newschannel will utilize the editorial capacity of WPLG's Eyewitness News and the Sun-Sentinel. 6 South Florida Newschannel is a 50-50 joint venture between the Washington Post's WPLG and Tribune's Sun Sentinel. It will have approximately 100 staff members. 14 "[P]rint journalists will be consulted and interviewed on the show [South Florida Newschannel]." 14
Unspecified newspaper	Suburban Cable (Lenfest)	Pennsylvania New Jersey Delaware		"[I]n exchange for providing it with local content, Lenfest, an East Coast cable company, creates for its newspaper partners a 10-minute newscast of text and photos. The product features the newspaper brand and runs continuously on the basic tier of Suburban Cable, a Lenfest subsidiary with systems in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware." 3

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